

# Specimen of 'Truth' Practised by CPI(M)

Mr. Promode Das Gupta, the CPI(M) leader, while addressing a rally on the Brigade Parade Ground, Calcutta, organised by the party in connection with the observance of the fifty-fourth anniversary of the November Revolution, is reported by the *Statesman* in its issue dated November 8 to have said "that it was only the CPI(M) which had given the warning that measures like bank nationalization and abolition of privy purse were a "bluff" " ? Is this statement of the said CPI(M) leader true ? Let us examine.

We all know that the Banking Companies (Acquisition and Transfer of Undertaking) Ordinance, 1969, nationalizing fourteen major Indian banks was promulgated on 19th July, 1969. How did the CPI(M) look at this event ? As "a big event". Lest our readers would think that we are putting something in CPI(M)'s mouth which they had not actually said, we are quoting the portion **verbatim et literatim**. "The nationalization of such institutions (the banks—Ed., P. E.) cannot but be a big event." (**Bank Nationalization: What does it mean** published in *People's Democracy* dated 3rd August, 1969) But why is bank nationalization "a big event" ? Because, "the measure has opened up some new possibilities, and the progressive forces of the country should intervene to beat back determined reactionary opposition and see that nationalized banks truly become a tool for fighting monopoly interests." (*Ibid*) Does not this analysis of bank nationalization published in the English organ of the CPI(M) establish beyond doubt that what Mr. Promode Das Gupta had said is palpably untrue ? Let alone to be the only party, the CPI(M) never characterized bank nationalization as "bluff", as claimed by him.

Let us now turn to the speech made by Mr. P. Ramamurti, the CPI(M) leader, on the floor of the Lok Sabha on

the Banking Companies (Acquisition and Transfer of Undertakings) Bill, 1969 (Published in the *People's Democracy* dated 17th August, 1969) He said : "I and my party certainly welcome this measure as a **step in the right direction**", (Italics ours—Ed., P. E.) He further said : "If out of factional conflict **something good** (Italics ours—Ed., P. E.) has come, let us have it and not look at the conflict." Here also we find that the CPI(M) had not characterized bank nationalization as a "bluff"; on the contrary, they had "welcomed" the measure as "a step in the right direction", as "something good". In the face of this reality does not Mr. Promode Das Gupta's statement that it was only the CPI(M) that issued warning to the effect that measures like bank nationalization were bluff amount to mendacity ?

It may be argued that the portions quoted earlier are not authoritative opinions of the CPI(M), they being writing or speech of individuals. Though this argument has no leg to stand upon, we accept it and, so, refer to the statement of the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) on Mr. V. V. Giri's election as President which had been published in the *People's Democracy* dated 31st August, 1969. The statement **inter alia** states that the Indira wing of the Congress "sponsors certain **forward measures**" (Italics ours—Ed., P. E.)

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## Central Committee's Statement on Orissa Situation

The Central Committee of the SUC headed by its General Secretary Com. Shibdas Ghosh, has issued the following statement to the Press :

"A great catastrophe has befallen the people living in coastal Orissa as a result of the severe cyclone accompanied with tidal waves that hit the area on 29th and 30th October last, killing more than ten thousand people, otherwise affecting about a million other people, destroying more than five thousand heads of cattle, razing to the ground thousands of houses and completely damaging standing crops on lakhs of acres of land. To effectively meet the situation, the Central and the Orissa State Government must take all possible measures and conduct relief operation, besides taking rehabilitation measures of the displaced persons, in close co-operation

with the people and all political parties. But we are constrained to say that the Governments are not moving in the way they should move and are indulging in sectarian petty party politics in matters of relief work. We extend our heart-felt sympathy to the affected people, instruct the Orissa Organising Committee of the SUCI to take up relief work in right earnest, urge upon the Governments to desist from practising sectarian petty party politics in relief work and come sincerely to remove the sufferings of the people and appeal to the people of our country to contribute their mite towards succour of the distressed people of Orissa."

## Party School of Politics in U.P.

( By a Staff Reporter )

Jaunpur (U.P.), November 10—Under the auspices of the U.P. Organising Committee of the SUCI a school of politics was held here on and from 5th to 9th November last. The school was conducted by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, General Secretary of the Party and one of the outstanding Marxist-Leninist thinkers of the day. In spite of serious difficulties in attending the

school for cultivation-work, about fifty comrades from among the members and workers of the Party from Azamgarh, Ballia, Benaras, Gazipur, Gorakhpur and Jaunpur districts of U.P. attended the school.

Among the subjects discussed in the school were dialectical and historical materialism, international (Contd. to page 8)

## BANGALORE CONFERENCE

## SOME COMMENTS ON C.P.M.'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE RESOLUTIONS

At a time when India's political situation is at a critical stage, the Central Committee of the CPI(M) met in a session from 24th August to 29th August last in Bangalore. On the one hand the left democratic movement of our country has been disrupted and weakened to a great extent owing to party sectarianism, opportunistic and disruptive tactics, politics of terror and individual killing etc. and on the other hand the Congress which was dying has been given a new lease of life. While the CPI openly advocates that a section of the ruling Congress is an ally of national democratic revolution, the CPM also deems Indira Congress as progressive which is evident in its Central Committee resolution adopted in February 1970.

Being aided by the certificates of these two big left parties and adopting some so-called progressive measures like bank nationalisation, the ruling Congress has been attempting to establish itself as progressive before the people and at the same time hammering terrible blows one after another on the left democratic movements with a view to usurp the democratic rights of the people. On the plea of stopping the politics of terror and individual killings, the Congress(R) itself is actively engaged now in such politics of brutal activities, designed to serve its narrow end.

In such a political atmosphere when it was expected that the CPI(M), with a view to develop mighty left democratic movement by retracing their policies will undergo self-criticism about their petty sectarian and opportunist policies so long pursued in the sphere of left democratic movement and will seriously consider the proposals set forth by our Party and some other left political parties regarding the problems confronting united movement of left and democratic parties and forces, the outlook of United Front, the Code of Conduct etc. and also that the CPI(M) will clearly state whether it still

adheres to its old formulation about the Congress(R)—such expectations have, however, been belied since the resolutions accepted in the Central Committee meeting do not elaborate on these vital issues.

The discussions held at the Central Committee meeting do not provide any analysis on important international and national issues of our time. Though the necessity of building up the United Front has been stressed yet the causes of the breakdown of U.F. and the method of building it up have not even been mentioned in their discussions. Although it was urged there to build up mighty resistance movement against the growing oppression of the Indira Congress, nevertheless, no political evaluation of the Congress(R) was made in the discussions. We are giving below our comments on views expressed in some of their resolutions passed in the meeting.

#### On present international situation

In their statement on present international situation it has been stated that:— "This situation is in part due to the fact that the world Communist movement and the Socialist Camp have lost their former homogeneity, they stand divided, working at cross purposes and, in the bargain, follow

policies which are a violation of Marxist-Leninist norms and proletarian internationalism. Both the big Socialist States and their big parties often take an opportunist and wrong attitude on vital questions affecting the struggle of millions. One of the recent instances is the Chinese attitude towards the movement in Bangladesh where the entire people have risen against their subjugation whilst the Peoples' Republic of China regards it only as an internal affair of Pakistan."

The CPI(M) views that the unity of the Socialist Camp and the international communist movement has been disrupted owing to the opportunist policies followed by both the communist parties of the Soviet Union and China and their violation of Marxist-Leninist norms and proletarian internationalism. While criticising the positions of other communist parties, the correct Marxist-Leninist approach in this regard must be observed. If the CPI(M) were a real communist party and genuinely concerned about the restoration of unity of the Socialist Camp and international communist movement, then instead of simply criticising the communist parties of the Soviet Union and China as following unprincipled narrow nationalistic approach, it should have based this criticism by providing a correct analysis of the various international issues which confront the international communist movement now, such as the issues of war, peace, peaceful co-existence, peaceful transition to socialism, cult of personality, the relation between the leading communist party and the rest etc. etc. The genesis of the present Sino-Soviet discord specifically lies on the differing positions on these questions. It is due to the revisionism of the CPSU, since Khrushchev's assumption of its leadership, the first alarming signs to

weaken and mislead the international communist movement and disrupt the unity of Socialist Camp were noticed. The leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and some other parties differed on many important issues concerning world revolutionary movement with the assessment of these issues by the revisionist CPSU leadership. In the great debate which ensued between China and the Soviet Union, it was China, which despite some shortcomings was in the main correct, particularly on the question of preventing imperialist intervention and supporting the anti-imperialist national liberation struggles in colonies and semi-colonies and revolutionary struggles in metropolitan countries, thereby upholding the true banner of proletarian internationalism and the cause of proletarian revolution. But since the differences on these vital issues affecting the Socialist Camp and world communist movement between China and the Soviet Union could not be correctly resolved, and the contradiction gradually took on a mightier proportion even percolating to the state level, the unity of the Socialist Camp and the international communist movement was disrupted, consequently having a disastrous effect on the progressive democratic and revolutionary movements throughout the world. The CPM without going into a deeper analysis of the respective roles played by China and the Soviet Union on this question and probing into the origin wherefrom the disintegration of the Socialist Camp and world communist movement had started and instead bracketing the two sides together, in accusing both of them as responsible for disrupting the homogeneity of the Socialist Camp and the international communist movement, has completely failed to analyse the root cause of the problem, clearly violated the Marxist-Leninist norms and forshaken the cause of proletarian internationalism

# CPM MORE AND MORE BECOMING A NATIONALIST PARTY

by repudiating the Marxist methodology for ascertaining the role of the other communist parties.

Not only in the current resolutions, but even in the past since the CPI (M) came into existence after the split of the undivided CPI the Party did not make any effort to find out what should be the correct Marxist approach towards the various controversial issues which confront the international communist movement today. Not only that, although the CPI (M) outwardly admits that to correctly analyse the national situation, step up the communist movement within the soil and determine the strategy and tactics of proletarian revolution, a revolutionary working class party ought to take cognisance of the international situation, make a correct study of the international issues with a view to accelerate the revolutionary movement inside the country and strengthen proletarian internationalism, still the CPI (M), while adopting the thesis in its 7th Congress just at the time of its formation has by-passed this essential task of assessing painstakingly the international situation and various international issues and chalked out its strategy and tactics for Indian revolution without correlating it with the international communist movement. Such a formulation of the party thesis divorced from any international outlook only highlights the fact that the CPM is essentially a nationalist party playing no effective role towards the cause of proletarian internationalism.

It is needless to mention that to become a true revolutionary working class party it is not only necessary to conduct the revolutionary movement in each country viewing it as part and parcel of world revolutionary movement, but it is nonetheless important that a communist

party, worth its name, must always maintain a dialectical relationship, as opposed to mechanical or formal relationship, with the leading communist party, conduct ideological struggles on the basis of it, effectively contribute towards building up of the collective leadership of the international communist movement and finally maintain the solidarity of the Socialist Camp and the communist movement based on the dialectical principle of unity-struggle-unity to be observed among the fraternal communist parties, for giving a crushing blow to the common enemy, the imperialists-capitalists.

That the CPI (M) does not understand the dialectical relationship which ought to be the basis of mutual relationship between the different communist parties as also between the leading communist party and the rest, is abundantly clear from its past behaviour when it was in the undivided CPI and also since it came into existence. After the split, the CPM blindly followed the line of the Chinese Communist Party, in the erstwhile fashion of the undivided CPI, only to get the recognition of China and thereby strengthen the party by utilising the militant fervour of the communist rank and file in its favour. All the so-called communist parties in India, like the undivided CPI, the present CPI, the CPI (M) and the CPI (M L) failed to develop the communist movement in India, draw the mass of the common people to a revolutionary objective by conducting mighty mass movements on the basis of a revolutionary theory to be concretised in this soil and depended on international recognition to simply usurp the credit of the communist movement outside, to increase their organisational strength. After the CPM fell in disgrace in the estimation of the Chinese

Communist Party, it was virtually left without any international recognition. It was this predicament which pushed the CPM to search for new allies in the international field. In the prevailing situation, when the international communist movement is marked by three distinct trends, namely one trend following the leadership of the CPSU, the second trend following the CPC and another trend also gradually emerging with Rumania playing more or less a pivotal role in it—it is with this last trend that the CPM now is trying to identify itself and moving closely towards Rumania in its frantic bid for recognition, conveniently forgetting perhaps that the Rumanian Communist Party is preaching more downright revisionism than the CPSU. According to the Rumanian Party, there is no necessity for the homogeneity of the Socialist Camp. Further, it does not find it necessary that there should be any leading communist party or any one centre of leadership of the international communist movement. This is the most naked and shamefaced revisionism, virtually destroying the cause of communist internationalism with which the CPM is now coming closely in touch in order to fight the revisionist Dangeites inside the country and the revisionism of the CPSU. So while the CPM is expressing concern for the disunity of the Socialist Camp and the international communist movement, and holding both the Soviet Union and China equally responsible for such an unwholesome situation owing to their unprincipled and nationally oriented positions (of course as understood by the leadership of the CPM) it is in reality moving with those very forces tainted with arch revisionism and opposed to the idea of proletarian internationalism. On the one hand the CPM is frantically in search of an international recognition

to prove its international character, and on the other hand, its recent politics is clearly showing that it is out to develop itself as a more or less nationally oriented communist party by fanning up the national sentiment of the people.

## On China's role on Bangladesh issue

In respect of Bangladesh freedom struggle the CPM has squarely blamed China for its 'opportunistic and wrong attitude' towards it. Surprisingly, the CPM has singled out China, and did not mention the name of the Soviet Union in case of Bangladesh issue. Has the Soviet Union, even in a single instance, supported the freedom struggle of Bangladesh? Has not it advocated all the time for an amicable political settlement of Bangladesh issue within the framework of Pakistan? Can the CPM leaders cite a single instance where China has opposed the freedom struggle? Then why the CPM plays double standard and accuses China for her reticence over Bangladesh question? Is it because China has repudiated the CPM as neo-revisionist? How can it be concluded that just because China, with a view to further enhance the contradictions within the imperialist-capitalist camp and keep Pakistan aside of the imperialist camp to a certain extent, is not advocating openly in favour of Bangladesh freedom movement right at this moment, so China has to be deemed as actually opposed to the freedom struggle? It seems that on this issue the CPM is in closest accord with the revisionist Dangeites to anyhow throw some mud against China. What evidences are there to prove that China is opposed to the freedom struggle and pursuing opportunistic policy? From the brief comments and correspondences of China on this issue, any careful reader can easily guess and even the bourgeois newspapers and expert diplomats of the capitalist world have not

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## Some Comments on CPM's Resolutions

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fascist force in the shape of the Congress(R) to assume more ruthless powers for crushing the progressive democratic mass movements of the toiling people. That the C.P.M. is still appreciative of the so-called radical steps of the Congress(R) designed to serve "the aggregate interest of capitalism precisely to bring about a coalescence of monopolies with the state and thereby virtually subjugating the state to the interest of the monopolists" (from the Central Committee statement of the S. U. C. I. on bank nationalisation) is clearly borne out by this resolution wherein it is stated that the "Party supports all such measures" of the Congress R) like restoration to "Parliament the right to amend Fundamental Rights", its proposal "to bring constitutional amendments to make the state take-over of big properties easier", its "abolition of Privy Purses" etc. Thus the C.P.M. is further helping the Indira Congress to firmly hold on the radical cloak to run smoothly the wheel of coercion on the toiling broad masses of the people.

Lastly, a peculiar contradiction is noticed in the behaviour of the C.P.M. in regard to the Congress(R). While the C.P.M. finds 'progressiveness', 'a healthy trend which hates big landlords and monopolists' and 'anti-monopoly democratic aspirations of the people' within the Indira Congress, hails the so-called radical measures of the Congress(R) like bank nationalisation, abolition of Privy Purses etc. as 'a step forward' and even helps the Congress(R) candidates to win by-elections in Assam and Haryana against the only left candidate of our Party, it is at the same time raising hue and cry against the Congress(R), specially in West Bengal and Kerala. The C.P.M.

leaders are unable to furnish any reason to explain these contradictory positions in respect of the Congress(R). It was reported in newspapers which so far had not been contradicted by the C.P.M., that the leaders of the C.P.M. had tried to find out a solution of this contradiction in the said meeting by drawing a distinction between Sm. Gandhi and her party. The real reason, however is that, whatever may be its attitude regarding the Congress(R) at the Centre, particularly in West Bengal and Kerala, where the C.P.M. has a stronghold and faces the Congress (R) as its main political opponent in the election battle, the C.P.M. has to raise slogans and direct its main blow against the Congress(R) to ensure victory in the elections. If instead of the Congress(R), it was Swatantra, Jansangh or any other party of this type, posing as the chief rival of the C.P.M. contesting the poll, then unlike what it did in Kerala in the last election, it would have discharged all its fire against that party. It is not difficult to understand that in such a case, its present anti-Congress stance, aimed to create confusion among the common people would consequently seem to disappear. Also there cannot be any doubt that in place of this seeming contradiction now, in the political resolution and daily activities of the C.P.M., in its attitude towards the Congress(R), the party would orient itself to behave consistently as drum-boy of Indira Congress.

It is this petty bourgeois reformist character of the CPM, which is clearly revealed in all its activities, policies and programme and making of alliances with other parties and forces on various issues, even though it puts on a garb of a 'revolutionary' working class party and often breathes 'revolutionary' fire only to befool the unconscious people.

## Take-Over of Delhi Transport Undertaking

(By a Staff Reporter)

New Delhi, November 8—The Union Government has recently promulgated an ordinance to take over the Delhi Transport Undertaking from the control of Delhi Municipal Corporation and give it to the Delhi State Road Transport Corporation.

Some so-called left political parties have expressed the hope that the ordinance setting up the Road Transport Corporation would certainly "eliminate all kinds of political and vested interests and also avoid multiplicity of authority. The decisions will now be more rational and their implementation more effective." We wish, such a thing takes place, but experience tells us that it is naive to expect these benefits from the recent measure. In other states such corporations have been set up for road transport where political and vested interests have not been eliminated; on the contrary, in some states they have in fact increased. And so long as private buses which have been allowed to ply in Delhi on the plea of easing the pressure on DTU will continue to ply (the ordinance does not touch them) multiplicity of owners and consequent harassment of the transport workers will be there.

There is no denying the fact that the transport system in Delhi is certainly not upto the mark. Insignificant number of buses compared to requirement, the ever-lengthening queues, the inordinately long interval between one bus and the next bus on a route, the continuously falling standards

in services and, last but not least, the high fares are some of the long standing difficulties to which the members of the public in Delhi are subjected. Apart from the absolute shortage of vehicles in terms of needs more than one-third of the buses now in use is not roadworthy. Unless the fleet is augmented by at least 500 new buses there will be no improvement in the conditions. The purchase of 500 new buses involving an expenditure of several crores is beyond the capacity of the newly formed DSRIC. Hence the new measure will not bring any amenity to the travelling public or improve Delhi's road transport. Travel by bus in Delhi is now costly compared to fare structures in some other states. The new arrangement will make it costlier—there is no doubt in it. Secretary of the Organising Committee of the S U C I of Delhi has urged upon the common men to develop movements for the improvement of travelling facilities and road transport system of Delhi and resist any move to increase fares.

### DSO Wins in Assam

Dhubri (Assam), November 5—Democratic Students Organisation is extending its influence over general students in different areas of Assam. This is corroborated by recent victory of DSO candidates in the elections of students' unions in colleges. Of them recent election of Com. Basir and Com. Radhacharan Rava as General Secretaries of the Dhubri College Students' Union and Goalpara College Students' Union respectively is particularly significant. The work of the DSO has created great enthusiasm among the local students.

The present resolution of the C.P.M. is a piece of glaring inconsistencies, upholding more and more its opportunistic and narrow, unscientific outlook characteristic of a petty-bourgeois, social-democratic party which cannot conceal its true nature even by revolutionary phrase-mongering. The sooner the people get rid of such petty-bourgeois leadership, the better will be the prospect of Indian revolution.

## COMRADE MUKHERJEE REPUDIATES CPI(M)

Com. Nihar Mukherjee, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee of the SUCI, has in a statement released to the Press, strongly repudiated the false and mischievous remarks reported to have been made by Mr. Promode Das Gupta, the CPI (M) leader, against the SUCI, UTUC (Lenin Sarani) and the DSO. Lack of courage to speak out the truth, in the opinion of Com. Mukherjee, has made Mr. Das Gupta to take recourse to falsehood and canard.

In the statement Com. Mukherjee has said that "it is not a fact that when the CPI (M) student wing had urged the SUC students to join a movement against the dismissal of the State Government employees, the SUC leaders insisted that the State Government employees must first be condemned for not attending to their duties, as alleged by Mr. Das Gupta. The fact is that the DSO leaders tried their best to impress upon the left SF leaders the imperative necessity of abjuring sectarianism, as practiced by the CPI (M)-controlled Co-ordination Committee leadership, achieving broadest possible democratic unity of the State Government employees and their trade union organisations ready to fight and developing united movement of the State Government employees under the guidance of the United Council of Action formation of which, at the present moment, is an essential condition for developing united movement of the State Government employees but formation of which the CPI (M)-controlled Co-ordination Committee leadership is delaying on this or that plea. Only when such a united movement of the employees themselves would develop, the students would be in a position to unitedly and effectively back that movement against fascistic attacks by the Government. The DSO leaders in a spirit of self-criticism also pointed out that as a result of existence of corruption, lack of sense of social responsibility and social obligation among a section of the Government employees as also bureaucratic, uncivil behaviour towards general

public by them, common men are gradually being alienated from the Government employees; and the Government is out to take advantage of this situation to mount attacks on the employees. The DSO leaders, therefore, also felt the necessity of conducting movements to develop sense of social responsibility and social obligation, pro-people, sympathetic attitude and courteous behaviour among Government employees and remove corruption from Government offices in order to win back the support of the people since alienated.

"It is also well-known that the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) has been trying its best to develop united movement of the State Government employees against mounting attacks by the Government and drag public support behind this united movement. If the UTUC speaks for adoption of a proper code and norms of behaviour, it is only because of the fact that in preventing sectarianism practiced by the CPI (M) leadership and objectively opening the door of united democratic movements, now not in sight, adoption of such code and norms is vitally necessary.

"We again appeal to the CPI (M) to eschew sectarianism and sincerely strive for developing united mass movements, development of which is particularly important now for West Bengal in view of increasing fascistic violent attacks and individual and mass killings by the Congress (R) and its Youth and Student Wings in collusion with administration and police—in place of carrying on slanderous propaganda against left and democratic parties."

## By The Way

According to Planning Minister, Mr. C. Subramaniam, the state sector undertakings in our country now employ about 6 lakh persons with a total wage bill of Rs. 300 crores per year. Unlike in China, where the highest salary is only 6 times the lowest in force there, the highest paid officers in these state sector undertakings get 25 times the salary the lowest paid employees draw. This is perhaps because of Sm. Indira Gandhi's socialist policy of reducing inequalities between the rich and the poor. Three cheers for 'democratic socialism' of the Congress (R)!

It is reported in the newspapers that the West Bengal State Government is yet to buy clothes for the Bangladesh evacuees with the sum of Rs. 6.5 crores already sanctioned to it about a month and a half back. The delay is caused as formalities, like inviting tenders, remain to be completed. How is it that while in buying trucks, wireless vans, etc. for the police not even a day's delay is caused, in case of poor evacuees months pass by? There is nothing to be astonished. For, after all, necessities for shooting down people on the plea of maintaining law and order are thousand times more urgent and important than providing clothes to the starving, half-clad evacuees drenched in rains, shivering in cold and eking out a sub-human existence in open space with nothing in between their heads and sky.

The latest Census figures reveal that the number of illiterate persons in India had gone up from 3 crores 33 lakhs in 1961 to 3 crores 86 lakhs in 1971. In other words, during the period in question there had been an increase by 53 lakhs. So, it seems that with the passing of every ten years the number of illiterate persons in our country will not decrease, as expected by common men, but will swell by about half crore. You must admit that it is not an ordinary progress; rather, it is a big leap, though not forward but backward.

According to the *Crime of India—1969*, the latest Government of India publication on crime position, West Bengal tops the list in terms of number of policemen per unit area with 70.7 for every 100 sq. km. With thousands of policemen brought from other states, CRP men, border security forces, industrial security forces and RPF men not taken into account in making the above calculation, the figure will come to more than one policeman for every sq. km. Who says, West Bengal is falling back compared to other states in recent times? This record-position proves to the contrary and you must feel elated over the Police Raj that West Bengal is witnessing now.

It is reported that during a period of four years from 1963-64 to 1967-68 the Birlas recorded an increase in their assets by Rs. 283 crores, the Tatas by Rs. 116 crores, the Mafatlals by Rs. 90 crores, so on and so forth. Who has helped these monopolists in amassing such huge fortunes in so short a period? According to admission of Mr. Ram Niwas Mirdha, Union Minister of State for Home, the "big business had increased wealth and properties because of the help and facilities given to it by the Government in the form of licences, permits and quotas." Not for nothing these monopolists, their agents and the Press controlled by them praise Sm. Indira Gandhi, the Congress (R) and the Government headed by her as socialist!

# China's Attitude to Bangladesh Struggle Misrepresented by C. P. M.

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failed to notice on which side her sympathy lies. In a note to President Yahya, the Chinese Premier Mr. Chou En-lai has described the 'happenings' in East Bengal as "purely an internal affair of Pakistan to be settled by the Pakistani people without foreign interference" (vide Article entitled 'The Chinese Riddle' in Statesman, dt. 11. 7. 71.) While the CPM in its resolution, quotes only the first portion that China deems the Bangladesh issue as an 'internal affair of Pakistan', it forgets to mention that China believes that this issue should be 'settled by the Pakistani people themselves' thereby virtually distorting the real position of China before the people. Any careful reader and even the bourgeois Press have also noticed that China not even once has deprecated the freedom struggle or deemed it as a secessionist movement. Its profound assurances to Yahya is only in respect of any foreign aggression on Pakistan, but there is nothing unusual in it since China still today maintains normal diplomatic relation with Pakistan. So long China has this normal relation with Pakistan, it is part of its foreign policy to do everything possible in order to enhance the contradictions between Pakistan and the imperialist powers, particularly the USA. This has got nothing to do with nor may be conceived as opposing the freedom struggle of Bangladesh. The Chinese position in respect of Bangladesh issue has been beautifully explained by our beloved leader and teacher Com. Shibdas Ghosh, in a speech delivered by him a few months back, which has already been published in a previous issue of Proletarian Era, dt. 15th October, '71. In view of what is stated above, the position taken by the CPM in castigating China for her role on Bangladesh issue

hardly merits any serious ponder, as it has proved itself to be suffering from anti-China bias like the revisionist Dangeites.

## On the question of left and democratic front

The next important issue raised in the political resolution adopted in the conference is the question of left and democratic front. The CPM has given a call for making endeavour to build up united front of left and democratic parties and forces as an weapon of mass struggle to resist "attacks on the common man launched by the Indira Congress Government". The CPM also views that such a front will be "something beyond just an electoral front". It is doubtless a welcome sign on the part of the

CPM to realise the necessity of a left and democratic front as a weapon of mass struggle—a necessity which it has so long spurned and indeed, killed the very possibility of emergence of UF on a national scale, as the only alternative against the ruling Congress and other reactionary parties, by advancing queer logic in its support. Judging in the background of their so-called theory of 'class-based front' and fancied belief that the united front of left and democratic parties, (as emerged specially in West Bengal and Kerala, and was disrupted mainly due to CPM's left-opportunistic and disruptive politics) had become outdated due to an acute form of intensification of class struggle, the present stance of the CPM is a sign of departure and a step in the right direction. But has the CPM viewed correctly the necessity of such a front of left and democratic parties in the present phase of democratic movement and has it changed its left-sectarian and disruptive attitude which, in the main, brought the downfall of UF Governments both in Kerala and West Bengal and

disrupted the united fronts ultimately? Has it truly grasped the reality that the role of UF still exists, that the UF is a historical necessity and not created out of any fond imagination of any party? Is it aware that if it is a true revolutionary working class party, then it is its foremost task more than any other party of the front to keep alive and united the UF as a formidable weapon of democratic mass movements so long the role of other left and democratic parties, representing different classes, and having influence over a considerable section of the toiling people is not exhausted? While the broad masses of the toiling people are still suffering from bourgeois parliamentary reformist illusion, and the various bourgeois and petty bourgeois liberal democratic parties are having a firm grip over a substantial section of them, it is only through the formation of united front of all the left and democratic parties, playing a positive role, however vacillating, in the democratic movement, that an instrument of mass struggle against the reactionary vested interests can be created. It is only with the help of this instrument, that the legitimate struggles of the democratic masses can be built up to higher level and the increasing fascist offensive of the Indira Government to take away the basic democratic rights of the people effectively repulsed. While carrying out these struggles, a revolutionary working class party, in conducting relentless ideological struggle against the other partners of the front, to make their real pseudo-revolutionary reformist character exposed to the people and gradually isolate them from the masses, always bends all its efforts to keep strong and healthy the unity of the united front as against the main common enemy. It is only on this basis of unity-struggle-

unity, a principle to be observed among the front partners while conducting the mass struggles to attain ever higher level for implementing the accepted minimum programme of the front, that the majority of the toiling masses can be freed from parliamentary illusion by isolating the pseudo-left and pseudo-revolutionary parties from them and brought over towards the revolutionary objective, swelling the ranks of the revolutionary party and its various mass organisations. Only at this stage the historical necessity of such an united front of left and democratic parties or succession of such fronts can come to an end and a new type of front, a proletarian united front can emerge.

But did the CPM, which claims itself as a revolutionary party, follow such an outlook of UF politics? The answer is an emphatic no. It is the CPM, which due to its narrow sectarian and opportunistic politics destroyed the UF which was gradually taking shape and emerging as the only instrument for carrying out left movement in the country. On the one hand, out of sheer pragmatic interests, the CPM most nakedly utilised the administration under its control in persecuting the political opponents and members and supporters of the allied parties of the front, engaged the anti-socials in the killing spree, indulged in big party chauvinism, raised hate-campaign against the very partners of the front and consequently destroyed the unity and solidarity of the front and on the other, while raising a bogey of 'class struggle' in season and out of season, actually carried favour with the big Industrial Houses, the monopolists, the big jotedars, the top bureaucrats and other ilk of the vested circle, the enemies of the people. It is this domineering attitude and left opportunistic disruptive politics of the CPM which alienated some of the front partners,



# Correct Approach to United Front of Left and Democratic Parties Needed

and even at a very critical stage, when our party put forward some concrete proposals for revival of the front, their persistent refusal to accept these proposals and retrace their suicidal path killed the possibility of restoration of UF in near future.

Has the CPM taken any lesson from its past mistakes? Is it ready to eschew its left-opportunist and disruptive politics which gave the ground for the present more merciless and fascistic attacks of the ruling Congress and the vested circle on the forces of the democratic movement and the common people? Is its call for revival of a front of left and democratic parties and forces as expressed in its resolution, is bonafide and guided by genuine concern for the left democratic movement in the country? Does the present activities of the CPM justify any such belief that the CPM is actually moving in the way to come out of the perilous course of left-adventurism and opportunistic politics so long indulged by it, spurn the politics of terror and individual killing introduced by the CPM in West Bengal since installation of last UF Ministry in the State, reject its method of hate-campaign against other left and democratic parties for narrow political ends, practice philosophical tolerance in the field of ideological struggle while conducting a joint movement with the other allied parties of the front against the common enemy and only in this way, to build up the united front of left and democratic parties, as a formidable weapon of mass struggle in the present phase of democratic movement, to vigorously advance the cause of left mass activities against the vested interests? Rather, it is painfully observed that the same sectarian outlook and opportunistic policies which disrupted the front still persists with the CPM and

the practice of terror and individual killing and malicious propaganda against political opponents are surfacing in their daily activities even now. The Baranagore-Cossipore mass killings jointly engineered by the CPM and the Congress (R), murder and assault on members of other left and democratic parties happening almost daily still now, its continuing hate campaign against others, its unilateral decision for giving a call for bundh in West Bengal on 13th October last on the issue of Government employees dismissal and persistent refusal to accept the proposal for United Council of Action of all fighting associations of the Government employees to conduct a massive united movement against the increasing government offensive, all these facts palpably show that the CPM, whatever may be its pronouncements for public consumption and befooling the democratic minded people, is still moving in the same discredited path, creating much hindrance to the prospect of restoration of united front of all left and democratic parties for fulfilling the democratic aspirations of the people. It seems that the CPM which even the other day talked of 'class-based front' and made all out effort, for shaking all democratic norms and principles to come out as a single party majority in West Bengal Assembly through the last election, is now compelled to change its tune and at least outwardly advocate for the UF of left and democratic parties even with those viewed by them as Congress (R) satellites, only after getting a rude shock at the hands of the Congress (R) in the last poll, which resulted in severe electoral defeat driving the CPM to a few pockets only. It is under such forces of circumstances that the CPM now is talking of

UF with the underlying pragmatic interest to come out of its present political isolation and recover its lost ground through the general election to be held early next year. It is this spectacle of gaining in parliamentary politics and winning a few more seats in the Assembly in its favour, and not the prospect of developing the left mass movement and revolutionary movement in the country that is weighing heavily in CPM's present posing in favour of left and democratic front. In the recent past, the CPM with a view to increase its parliamentary strength, even at the cost of other left parties and left movement, did not feel hesitant to come into overt and covert alliance with the arch reactionary and communal parties; as for example, its alliance with Jan Sangh-Syndicate-Congress (O), in Kerala, Akali Dal in Punjab and even with the Congress (R) against the sole left candidate of our Party in bye-elections in Haryana and Assam held last year. Despite their open denial to the contrary, the C.P.M.'s approach to Muslim League in West Bengal for the formation of a C.P.M.-led Ministry in the State, just after the last poll, virtually rejecting our proposal for the installation of a Coalition Ministry of left and democratic parties in the form of ULF ULDF Coalition, also points to the same opportunist policy of the C.P.M. All these facts definitely make one sceptical about the real motive which underlies the present call of U.F. of left and democratic parties of the C.P.M.

The CPM, in its resolution has bewailed over the phenomenal victory of the Indira Congress in the last poll. Such a victory of the Congress (R) regaining a dominating stature from a position of virtual extinction in many states, has no doubt dealt a terrible blow to the cause of

progressive left mass movement and revolutionary movement as well of the people. But has not the C.P.M. itself contributed much to this accession of enormous legislative strength of the Congress (R), the most faithful representative of the ruling capitalist class of our country? In explaining the cause of victory of the Congress (R) just after the mid-term poll in Kerala, our Party led by our beloved leader and teacher Com. Shibdas Ghosh has stated that:—"On the one hand, when the Indira Congress, representative of the aggregate interest of Indian monopoly capitalism is trying to pass the same old Congress on to the people as progressive under the facade of so-called radicalism, and when it is the bounden duty of all the left and democratic forces in general and the C.P.I. and the C.P.I.(M) in particular to tear off this progressive cloak of Indira Gandhi and help the people to see the real face of it, they, on the contrary, by their various deeds and utterances, have actually helped the Indira Congress to have a progressive image to the common men of our country and gain popularity and on the other hand the C.P.I.(M) by its left opportunistic policies has destroyed the democratic fronts in Kerala and West Bengal and thereby created political vacuum in the states, advantages of which have been taken by the Congress (R). These two have been instrumental in reviving the Congress (R) from its position of virtual extinction in Kerala".

The C.P.M. by disrupting the U. F. both in Kerala and West Bengal, due to its left-adventurist and disruptive politics and behaving as drumboy of Indira Congress for her so-called progressive radical measures like bank nationalisation etc. cannot be absolved of its responsibility for being instrumental to the

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## CPM Leader's Canard Against SUCI

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like nationalization of banks to meet the situation." So bank nationalization has been characterized by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) not as "a bluff", as claimed by Mr. Promode Das Gupta, but as a "forward measure", a step forward in right direction.

Why is bank nationalization a step forward, a forward measure in the right direction, a big event? The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) calls bank nationalization as a step forward, a forward measure in the right direction, a big event; because, this measure has "set in motion" "the process of mass radicalization and the new mass polarization." To quote the relevant portion of the statement of the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M), "the process of mass radicalization and the new mass polarization that have been set in motion, following the bank nationalization and the winning of the Presidential contest against the Syndicate's nominee." (*People's Democracy* dated 9th Nov., 1969).

So whatever Mr. Promode Das Gupta might have said on the Calcutta Maidan, the fact remains that the CPI(M) has never characterized bank nationalization as "a bluff"; rather, they have welcomed it as "a big event," as "a step in the right direction," as "something good," as "a forward measure," a radical "measure in tune with the anti-monopoly democratic aspirations of the people" (vide resolution of the Central Committee of the CPI(M) published in *People's Democracy* dated 15th February, 1970) so on and so forth. Why then has Mr. Das Gupta made such an untrue statement before the workers of his party and in public? Perhaps, he is a believer in the saying that 'public memory is too short' and taking advantage of the alleged shortness of public memory, was trying to shield the reality and pass the

CPI(M) on to the people as a truly revolutionary party. The reality is that the CPI(M) also, like the CPI and the PSP, hailed bank nationalization as a step forward. It is only the SUCI led by Com. Shibdas Ghosh, one of the outstanding Marxist-Leninist thinkers of the day, that has made correct Marxist-Leninist analysis of bank nationalization. The Central Committee of the SUCI headed by Com. Shibdas Ghosh in a resolution on bank nationalization stated among others, as follows: "...in a capitalist state when the bourgeoisie takes recourse to nationalization, it does so in the aggregate interest of capitalism precisely to bring about a coalescence of monopolies with the state and thereby virtually subjugating the state to the interest of the monopolists. In this way the rock bottom foundation stone of fascism is laid." To characterize bank nationalization merely as "a bluff" would be to lose sight of the positive aim of the ruling bourgeoisie behind the move. It is, no doubt, a bluff in so far as bourgeois attempts to pass on bank nationalization as socialism to our people is concerned but it is at the sametime something more, a positive measure by the Indian national state to lay the economic foundation of fascism in our country.

### Sectarianism Galore

Jajpur (Orissa) November 3—When it is essentially necessary to mobilise all out public co-operation in order to meet effectively the catastrophe caused by recent cyclone in coastal Orissa, it is strange that local police had today arrested nine SUCI workers who were collecting funds and other relief articles for distribution to the cyclone-affected people. It is reported that behind this move of the police had worked the black hands of the local Swatantrite and Utkal Congress leaders.

## Food Movement in Assam

(By a Staff Reporter)

Goalpara (Assam), November 10—Goalpara district of Assam is in the grip of severe food crisis but the Assam State Government is indifferent to the distress and sufferings of the people. The Goalpara district Committee of the SUCI, therefore, has taken up a programme of mass movement to force the authorities to take up immediately relief work for the distressed people.

Accordingly, the Lakhimpur Thana Committee of the Party organised a big demonstration of more than three thousand hungry peasants and agricultural labourers of the locality who gheraoed the B. D. O. office on the demand of regular supply of adequate quantity of food staff at fair prices to the people. The demonstration was led, among others, by Comrades Nazmul Hoque, Mihir Chowdhury and student leader Com. Moksed Ali.

In the Dhubri sub-division a joint-council of action has been formed comprising the

SUCI, RSP and the PSP. On the basis of a 14-point charter of demands framed by the joint-council a programme of mass hunger-strike before the Deputy Commissioner's office was successfully carried out. On November 3 last, a hungry peasants' demonstration, more than two thousand strong, was brought out in Dhubri town which culminated in a public meeting at the Court compound. Prof. Dewan Zainal Abedin, Secretary of Goalpara district committee of the SUCI, addressed the meeting condemning the food policy of the Government.

## PARTY SCHOOL OF POLITICS IN U.P.

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situation and national situation and Party organisation and different political parties in our country. In the discussion on international situation particular emphasis was given on the latest developments in the international situation, shift of US policy from war manoeuvre to peace manoeuvre indicating defeat of US imperialist policy in the face of consistent and tough anti-imperialist foreign policy of China, new and newer victories of the national liberation struggles in Indo-China, particularly in Vietnam, against US imperialists and mounting movements inside the USA against continuation of war in Vietnam, seating of China in the UNO and its implications, the necessity of restoring unity of the world communist movement and solidarity of the Socialist Camp so as to present a united face against the imperialists, notwithstanding the conduction of ideological struggles to resolve

the ideological differences among the different communist parties and the question of freedom struggle in Bangladesh.

The discussion on national situation included among others, evaluation of the character of the Indian state, the stage of revolution, the strategy of revolution, necessity of United Front politics and particularly the agrarian question of the country with special reference to U.P. The school also discussed the character of the different political parties in our country, attitude of the SUCI towards them, the correct process of building up a real communist party, why the parties moving with the name communist here are not real communist parties and why the SUCI is the only real communist party in India.

The school of politics has created great enthusiasm among the members and workers of the Party.